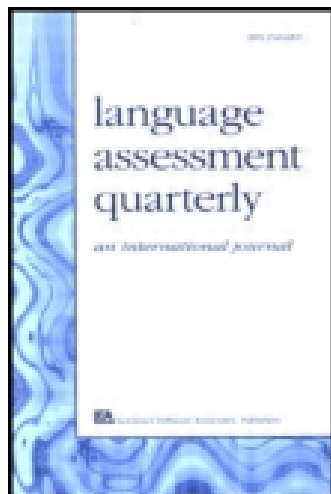


This article was downloaded by: [National Chengchi University]

On: 16 October 2014, At: 01:37

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Language Assessment Quarterly

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/hlaq20>

Pushing Learners to Work Through Tests and Marks: Motivating or Demotivating? A Case in a Taiwanese University

Shu-Chen Huang ^a

^a National Chengchi University

Published online: 17 Feb 2012.

To cite this article: Shu-Chen Huang (2012) Pushing Learners to Work Through Tests and Marks: Motivating or Demotivating? A Case in a Taiwanese University, *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 9:1, 60-77, DOI: [10.1080/15434303.2010.510898](https://doi.org/10.1080/15434303.2010.510898)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15434303.2010.510898>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Pushing Learners to Work Through Tests and Marks: Motivating or Demotivating? A Case in a Taiwanese University

Shu-Chen Huang

National Chengchi University

This study focused on the interface between classroom assessment and learning motivation, in particular, whether and how classroom tests and grades motivated student effort. In a university in Taiwan, six English as a Foreign Language teacher interviews were conducted, and 744 student surveys, accompanied by 289 more detailed written opinions, were gathered and analyzed. It was found that teacher considerations in designing classroom tests and assigning nontest grades were associated with intentions to ensure student efforts. Students were generally alert to grade-related requirements but reacted differently. Many indicated the effectiveness of tests in inducing student effort but felt ambivalent about being pushed to study by tests and grades. Teachers should avoid actually demotivating students when their original aim was to motivate.

Although there is caution that testing may be harmful for learning motivation and lifelong learning (Harlen & Crick, 2003; Remedios, Ritchie, & Lieberman, 2005), this conviction is mostly directed to high-stakes summative tests. Black, Harrison, Lee, Marshall, and Wiliam (2004) reviewed more than 250 published articles on formative assessments and concluded unequivocally on the potential of assessment *for* learning, as opposed to assessment *of* learning, in the classroom. Assessment *for* learning is classroom assessment (CA) that is unlike the traditional view because facilitating *learning* receives the paramount emphasis. However, CA studies have been described as overly atheoretical by researchers in the field of language assessment (Davison & Leung, 2009; Lantolf & Poehner, 2004; Poehner, 2007). Similarly, in CA studies on school subjects other than second or foreign languages, a recent review (Brookhart, 2004) ascertained that many such studies show no theoretical foundations, thus falling into mere reports of classroom practices.

The descriptor *atheoretical* is not confined to CA research studies only. It holds true for day-to-day CA practices in many educational settings. Recent reports (Cross & Frary, 1999; McMillan, Myran, & Workman, 2002; Zhang & Burry-Stock, 2003) refer to the observed teacher grading practice as “a hodgepodge” (Brookhart, 1991, p. 36) of attitude, effort and achievement. Although scholars point out its incongruity with recommendations of measurement specialists, that is, providing unbiased, valid, and truthful indicators of academic achievement, they found

this *atheoretical* condition to be common among teachers, regardless of teachers' measurement training. In addition, assessment practices have been found to be individualistic and to vary greatly from one teacher to another. Of interest, students as well as parents endorse such "hodge-podge" practices because of the perceived need to "manage classrooms and motivate students" (Brookhart, 1994, p. 299). In these reviews, the applicability of traditional testing theories in real classrooms is highly questioned.

Another group of *atheoretical* studies is related to student adaptation to CA. When the results of CA, both tests and otherwise, and ultimately the grades students earn from these activities, lead to the successful or unsuccessful acquirement of credits and the completion or lack thereof of program requirements, stakeholders involved pay attention to how teachers render institutional course requirements into tests and homework in the classroom, and how grades are eventually determined. Studies on student adaptation indicate that although some students study the same way regardless of how they are tested ("cue deaf"; Miller & Parlett, 1974), the majority of students at the college-level exercise conscious coping strategies in response to test formats (Broekkamp & Van Hout-Wolters, 2007; Natriello, 1987; Van Etten, Freebern, & Pressley, 1997).

Knowing what and how they are tested provides critical information when students determine their study strategies. Van Etten et al. (1997) surveyed 142 undergraduates and reported that "examinations per se motivate studying" (p. 200) because students want to obtain good grades. Van Etten et al. found that students' study behavior is closely tied to their own cost-benefit analysis between expected results and a myriad of factors including prior knowledge, self-efficacy, difficulty level, and so on. In addition, most of these factors show a curvilinear relationship with student effort. For example, to motivate effort, the test or task requirement should not be considered too difficult or too easy by learners so that effort will make a difference in the results. Finally, a long list of suggestions are summarized on how classroom tests can be modified to be more educationally friendly, including giving models of good work, giving plenty of advance warning, emphasizing personal progress rather than competition, making sure effort rather than prior knowledge would be credited, and so on.

Despite the lack of adherence to appropriate theories in the aforementioned lines of research, efforts have been expended on identifying relevant theoretical foundations. Within those few research reports that did have some theoretical basis, Brookhart (2004) detected three major frameworks: psychology, the study of individual differences; theories about groups; and measurement theories. Among the 57 selected articles, she reported that 88% of review articles and 60% of empirical studies were framed under psychological and individual differences theories, in particular, learning and motivation theories. More specifically, theories about formative assessment (Black & Wiliam, 2009) and the role of CA in student motivation and achievement (Brookhart, 1997; Brookhart & DeVoge, 1999) are being developed because traditional testing and measurement theories are inadequate in addressing the constituent and dynamic nature of classroom environments (Brookhart, 2004; Leung, 2004).

RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN L2 LEARNING MOTIVATION

Because motivation has been identified as one key factor in understanding CA, research on motivation, and in particular second/foreign language (L2) motivation, may provide some insights. Studies on L2 learning motivation, after the *educational shift* in the 1990s (Dörnyei, 2001b,

p. 104) may be characterized by an attempt to move beyond the social psychological emphasis of classical L2 motivation theories. Two breakthroughs have been observed since then. First, teachers' day-to-day classroom practice has been taken into consideration, as exemplified in Dörnyei's process model (2001b) and framework of motivational teaching practice (2001a), and more recently in empirical studies of observable teacher behaviors such as that of Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) and of Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008). Second, the dichotomy of integrative/instrumental orientation (Gardner, 1985) has been reinterpreted and expanded (e.g., Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005; Lamb, 2007) to include aspects that were neglected before. These endeavors have assisted us in strengthening theory and in bridging the gap between theory and practice. However, the aforementioned development is not without limitations. For example, although some additional motivational orientations, such as a requirement orientation (Ely, 1986; Warden & Lin, 2000) were identified, follow-up discussion and investigation is still insufficient.

REQUIREMENT MOTIVATION

In earlier research efforts to describe students' L2 learning motivation, Ely (1986) was probably the first to identify a "requirement motivation" cluster in addition to the integrative and instrumental orientations proposed by Gardner (1985). That is to say, some students' motivation for learning an L2 is simply based on the fact that it is required for the completion of their degree. He observed a weak but negative relation between this third cluster and the strength of student motivation. Therefore, Ely called for more careful consideration in the implementation of L2 requirements.

Warden and Lin (2000), in a foreign language context, found the integrative orientation to be almost nonexistent among Taiwanese college students of English. Instead, they found that instrumental and requirement motivation appears to be the major reasons students learn English. They further pointed out that such motivational orientations are mirrored in the local for-profit private language education industry, with one type focusing specifically on job preparation such as business English (instrumental) and another on passing all types of entrance examinations (requirement).

Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005), along the same vein, found that requirement motivation, rather than instrumental, had the strongest relation to students' expectancy, and they associated the observed requirement motivation with a collective pursuit for outstanding test results in Chinese society. They discussed in detail the overarching social value for success on exams and the consequent honor brought to the entire family. English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers having received professional training from Western countries, they cautioned, may be misled by Western theories and thus may be unable to address students' needs fully if unaware of local students' true motivation. Based on their analysis, Chen et al. (2005) coined the term "Chinese Imperative" to represent the requirement motivation that may exist in the greater Chinese society.

More recently, Price and Gascoigne (2006) conducted a survey on American college students' perceptions and beliefs concerning foreign language requirements. With 57% of the respondents indicating a positive attitude regarding the requirement, Price and Gascoigne considered the results quite encouraging. However, 43% did not share this positive attitude, with 22% holding a negative attitude and 21% feeling ambivalent. Almost half of the students sampled felt or partly felt that foreign language study was a requirement imposed on them. Based on student

opinions, the authors further expanded Ely's (1986) requirement cluster into a long list of reasons why students think the foreign language requirement is not a viable idea.

All the previous survey results notwithstanding, Warden and Lin's (2000) genuine question, "Can a 'requirement motivation' be taken advantage of in EFL teaching?" (p. 544) remains largely unanswered after about a decade. The concept of requirement motivation, despite its being identified in very different learning contexts, has not received much subsequent research attention since 2000. It may have to do with the contradictory nature of the term and concept itself. One may claim that if a learner is "motivated" by institutional requirements, then this student is not motivated to learn. In other words, this type of student lacks intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985), which is a key to eventual achievement. Requirement motivation, unlike "true" motivation, sounds like an antecedent to failure in learning. Abundant evidence in educational literature repeatedly warns teachers of the possible negative consequences of utilizing extrinsic motivation, such as learners' pursuit of rewards and avoidance of punishment, especially in the long run (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Therefore, *requirement* does not seem like a plausible way to motivate students, and it has high potential to demotivate.

Demotivation and *amotivation* are less researched but relevant concepts. Dörnyei (2001b) defined demotivation as "specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action" (p. 143). Studies also provide empirical data for the source of demotivation. First, Gorham and Christophel (1992) rank ordered five demotives most frequently mentioned by students, with number 1 being "dissatisfaction with grading and assignments." Second, Dörnyei (as cited in Dörnyei, 2001b) summarized nine main demotives in an L2 learning context. Among them, number 3, "reduced self-confidence" (experience of failure or lack of success), is closely related to tests and grades, and number 5, "compulsory nature of L2 study," is connected to the curriculum requirement. Demotivation, when accumulated over time, may develop into a state of amotivation. Deci and Ryan (1985) used *amotivation* to describe the absence of motivation caused by students' feelings of incompetence and helplessness in their ability to perform, their lack of strategies, or their perception that effort required is too excessive or inconsequential. Deci and Ryan's taxonomy of regulatory styles depicts a continuum of states from amotivation on the left end, to extrinsic motivation in the middle, and intrinsic motivation to the right. Along the continuum, the perceived locus of causality shifts from being an impersonal one for amotivation, to one that is external, somewhat external, and gradually more internal for various levels of extrinsic and eventually intrinsic motivation. The continuum helps us understand learners of different types and levels of motivation and how they may be motivated.

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT: A "TEST-DRIVEN" EDUCATIONAL MILIEU

In addition to Chen et al.'s (2005) discovery of students' strong requirement motivation and its association with a collective pursuit of high marks on examinations and the consequent honor lauded on family and clans, in a more recent report, Shih (2008) described a locally developed proficiency test, General English Proficiency Test, in Taiwan and how it has evolved into a nationwide craze within a decade. High school and college entry and exit policymakers as well as government officials are afraid to fall behind in requiring or encouraging students and employees to pursue exam certificates. "As an examination-oriented society in which *people believe*

that tests can successfully drive students to study [emphasis added], Taiwan has fallen into an unprecedented test mania” (Shih, 2008, p. 73).

When exam results become a major determinant for very competitive high school and college admission, job attainment, and resource allocation decisions, and the situation persists throughout the entire lifespan of one’s academic pursuits, the associated pressure on learners is enormous. Secondary school students take a handful of tests on a daily basis. It may be hard for people outside of this social milieu to imagine how students would try to get away from studying at the first chance that tests are not an immediate threat upon them. A common way that parents deter teenage children from extracurricular activities, part-time jobs, romantic relationships, and other activities not related to high school academics and the college entrance exams would be “wait until you enter a good college.” *University* used to be translated by its Chinese pronunciation as “play-four-years-as-you-wish” (you-ni-wan-si-nian) because the college entrance exam wore out young students’ energy over at least 6 years in junior and senior high and, once admitted into the “narrow gate” of college, students would consider themselves deserving of some relaxing fun time. However, this term is not as common nowadays because the college admission rate in Taiwan is much higher than before. But beyond the undergraduate level, tests and competition continue as a result of “supply-side surplus” of college educated manpower. This widespread exam-oriented mentality has made endeavors such as communicative language teaching and formative assessment more difficult, even at the tertiary level. To draw learners’ attention to their academic work, teachers often turn back to tests again, creating a seemingly endless vicious cycle.

NOT JUST “CHINESE”

The “test as a priority” mentality is by no means exclusively Chinese. The scenario just depicted is not news in many other Asian contexts. According to a recent survey of English exams in Korea (Choi, 2008), the consequence of high valuation on exams has reached the extent of overriding learning itself. Exam results are used for screening and placement purposes in secondary school and college admission, graduation, as well as employment screening. To pass various standardized proficiency tests and get high marks on these tests has become the number one priority for many adolescent and adult EFL learners. As exemplified in the Korean survey (Choi, 2008), half of the secondary school teachers asking their pupils to take proficiency tests claimed that the purpose is “to motivate students to study English,” followed by another 25% saying “to help students improve English skills” (p. 54). In Hong Kong, Davison (2007), in describing the effort to enable positive washback in English-language school-based assessments in Hong Kong, vividly illustrated how “fairness” has become a socio-cultural or even political issue rather than a simple technical one when the benign intention of exam reform is viewed through parents’ very critical eyes. For many students immersed in such social pressure and social values, the most dominant principle may be subsumed as “points talk,” a term derived from “money talks,” coined by a native English-speaking teacher to describe Taiwanese college students’ attitude toward grades in her English classes (Sheridan, 2009).

In fact, the idea of “testing to motivate effort” is not constrained only to Asia. With negative connotation, some Western scholars have noted that assessments motivate by intimidation

(Stiggins, 1999). Other descriptors for how skillfully students react to marks and grades, such as “cue conscious,” “cue seeker” (Miller & Parlett, 1974), and “grade grubbing” (Covington, 1999), are all concerned with and have emerged from Western educational contexts. In an earlier literature review on classroom evaluation practices, Crooks (1988) systematically considered research from the 1960s to the 1980s. Many studies demonstrated that what teachers advocate in the classroom does not influence students as much as what they assess and how they actually assess students. Learners are usually very conscious about how they are evaluated and adjust their study behaviors accordingly. Therefore, it is said that the best way to change student study habits is to change test methods. Empirical studies on effects of classroom evaluation strategies such as ways to administer quizzes are prevalent in the general education literature (e.g., Kouyoumdjian, 2004; Olina & Sullivan, 2002; Ruscio, 2001). Specifically in the field of L2 motivation, Dörnyei mentioned that one way of increasing student satisfaction is by using motivationally appropriate rewards. However, as Dörnyei (2001b) lamented, this “unfortunately . . . is difficult to accomplish because of the overarching importance of grades as the ultimate embodiment of school rewards, providing a single index for judging overall success and failure in school” (p. 136).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although a “testing to motivate” mentality seems to be a common societal phenomenon, whether and how the situation exists in EFL classrooms has not been systematically investigated. The current study set out to examine the interface between motivation and CA in an L2 learning context. EFL teachers’ practice and rationale as well as EFL students’ perspectives were sought to help us understand whether and how the “testing to motivate” mentality exists in college EFL classrooms. More specifically, the answers to the following research questions were sought.

1. Do college EFL teachers try to motivate student effort through tests and grades? How?
2. What do college students think about some teachers’ “testing to motivate effort” mentality?

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Because the research questions were intended to uncover an issue with a perspective less adopted in past literature, qualitative data analyzed without predisposed frameworks were therefore chosen as the more appropriate approach to understanding of the problem.

To answer the first research question, semistructured interviews were used as a way to collect data from practicing EFL teachers in a university in northern Taiwan. By taking the interviewees through a series of guided questions, as shown in Appendix A, and further eliciting their elaborations, the author expected to uncover the teachers’ grading practices as well as the underlying rationale, specifically on whether and how they motivate effort through tests and marks. First, an e-mail message explaining the purpose of the interview was sent to all 24 full-time and part-time EFL teachers in the university the author worked for, inviting participation. Six positive responses were subsequently received, and these six teachers were interviewed individually, each lasting from 30 to 90 min. The interviewees understood that the data they provided were

used only for the purpose of this study and that personal information would be kept confidential. A portable USB drive was given as an honorarium for participation. All interviews were conducted mainly in Chinese, the interviewer and interviewees' native language, with occasional spontaneous use of terms in English. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. After initial listening and reading, the interview data were analyzed first by identifying meaningful chunks, and second by assigning the chunks to categories. After a few classification iterations, recurring themes and representative episodes were identified.

To answer the second research question, the problem had to be presented to students and their responses then collected. Possible research methods included interviews and focus group discussions. However, among the freshmen population of 1,500, only a very small percentage could be represented using any of these methods. To obtain more student opinions more efficiently, the author, inspired by studies in some management fields, designed a brief simulated case as a prompt to elicit student responses in writing. It was hoped that the case provided a scenario provocative enough for students to express their feelings in some depth, and the written survey made it possible to gather a larger number of student opinions in a relatively short time. This case consisted of a short dialogue between two EFL teachers, as follows.

A: "Nowadays, if you don't give tests, students won't study."

B: "But I am afraid that students may dislike English if I give tests often."

Students were asked "What do you think about it?" and wrote down their reactions. In a small-scale pilot with 12 student informants, it was found that student reactions were complicated and mixed. Some paused for a long time and were not sure what to write down; some tended to endorse both positions; still others had negative reactions to both at the same time. After discussions with informants and further considerations, the researcher decided to make the case response a multiple-choice question so that all participants could easily indicate a position. To exhaust all possible positions, four choices were provided. Students could choose between agreeing with Teacher A, that is, tests motivate; Teacher B, tests demotivate; Both, tests motivate and demotivate; and Neither, tests neither motivate nor demotivate. With a choice indicated, it was believed that further written comments might become more readily available. The finalized prompt is presented in Appendix B.

The researcher solicited permission from the six EFL teachers already interviewed and visited their classes to conduct the student questionnaire survey, obtaining a convenient sample from the entire freshman population. The purpose of the study was explained to the students, and confidentiality was assured. Seven hundred forty-four freshmen from 15 intact classes chose to participate. Those who took part were given a correction tape cassette as a token of gratitude. Among them, 289 offered further comments in writing, with length of comments ranging from two to 124 Chinese characters. The comments were not translated for analysis, but those used as excerpts later in this report were translated by the author and the translation was discussed with a colleague for accuracy of meaning.

Student choices and comments were summarized and typed into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet first. Each written comment was first coded by class number (1–15), student number within each class (1–23 to 1–54), and their ticked choice (1 for agreeing with Teacher A, 2 for Teacher B, 3 for Both, 4 for Neither, and N/A for none). For example, an entry of one single student comment may be coded as 01-18-4 to represent the comment of the 18th participant from the first class surveyed, whose choice was "Neither."

Student choices were summarized first. It was found that 111 students (15%) agreed that tests motivate (agreeing with Teacher A), 240 (32%) agreed that tests demotivate (agreeing with Teacher B), 208 (28%) thought that tests both motivate and demotivate (agreeing with Both), and 97 (13%) believed that tests neither motivate nor demotivate (agreeing with Neither), with a remaining 88 (12%) not providing a position.

At this stage, considerable discrepancies were discovered between student choices and their comments. Many comments obviously did not support their existing choices. For example, for those choosing to agree with Teacher A, that is, tests motivate efforts, one response was “Both went over to the extremes (01-06-1).” A logical choice for this comment should have fallen on Neither, rather than Teacher A. A similar response, “Both are right (01-03-2),” appeared under the choice of Teacher B, i.e., tests demotivate, whereas its logical company should be Both. Examples like these were ubiquitous. To further complicate the matter, some responses seemed to go beyond the confines of the stated choices and voluntarily offered additional perspectives or alternatives. For instance, one student choosing Teacher A said, “Find a pretty girl who is interested in learning English, and improve English passionately in a romantic relationship. P.S. I do mean it! This method applies to every single subject (02-12-1).” To show a glimpse of the situation, five entries under each choice, in the order of its running number, are presented in Table 1.

Before analyzing the content of student responses, it is necessary to ascertain if the contradiction between choices and responses was indeed as prevalent as it was felt to be, so much so that it had become a threat to examining the responses in four predetermined groups. The researcher and a graduate-level research assistant each individually examined one fourth of each of the four kinds of responses against student choices and classified each pair into one of three possible categories: “logical”, “contradictory”, and “not directly relevant.” The intercoder reliability was at 92%. The differences were resolved after discussions, and the researcher then moved on with the rest of the data. Results showed that, among the 289 pairs of student choice/comments, 36 (12%) were logical, 207 (72%) were contradictory, and 46 (16%) were not directly relevant. A more detailed summary of actual versus logical responses is presented in Table 2. It was discovered that Teacher B (tests demotivate) received the highest number of supporters from this smaller sample with comments as well as from the larger sample of 744, which included those providing no further responses. However, participants’ written comments told a different story. That is, of the four choices, Teacher B was the one that received the lowest number of supporters when students provided further information after an initial reaction. Given the large number of contradictory responses, it was decided that the written responses should be considered together, rather than being assigned to four discrete choices. Unlike interview data from teachers, the students offered shorter and much more numerous responses. By reading and understanding learner responses, the researcher coded, categorized, and recategorized the entries until major themes emerged.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Do College EFL Teachers Try to Motivate Student Effort Through Tests and Grades? How?

The interview results were summarized into test and nontest parts. Highlights of both parts are presented in Table 3. As illustrated in the table, teachers had similar beliefs and practices in

TABLE 1
Sample Student Written Responses to the Survey Prompt Under Different Choices

Choice	Associated Written Responses
Teacher A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No test, no study; sometimes it's because we have to prepare for tests and homework in other courses. – Both went over to the extremes. – To A: More tests may bring adverse effects. To B: Whether one likes English and whether one wants to study are two independent events. – Tests at appropriate time and in an appropriate amount will do. – If I am interested, I will study. If I am not and you force me, it won't be effective. I recommend learning English by watching YouTube. I used to watch CNN, listen to BBC, and recently I subscribed to "podictionary."
Teacher B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Both are right. – It's just that conflicting. – No test would certainly lower my concentration on the course work, but too many tests would really make me sick and I tend to give up. So I think the best way is to give 2 tests in a semester. That way I can afford it and I would learn more earnestly. – It's normal we study only for tests. But preparing for a test is painstaking. We students don't want tests. – I admit I won't study if there's no test. But if there are too many and my study cannot keep up, then I'll "leave it to rot" (literal translation).
Both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Teacher A goes to hell. – For me, my teacher requires me to do oral reports and I always prepare for them. You don't necessarily have to give tests for us to work. But I believe some pressure is necessary to keep us moving. – Testing is a must, so we know what was learned and what was missed and should be reinforced. But just focusing on tests make us forget the joy of learning and gaining knowledge and the sense of achievement. – I hate exams. It's like a pillory on my neck, so tiring. I believe learning with ease is much better. – English is way too important. If you don't study hard, you'll know the consequences later.
Neither	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Tests are appropriate for less autonomous students. I feel I belong to this type, so it's okay for me. – No pressure, no improvement. – But the kind of test I hope for is one in which I can also learn besides being tested for my achievement. – More tests are not related to disliking English, but students nowadays actually won't study if there are no tests. – It's not easy to learn a lot in a happy course.

Note. Illogical comments are in boldface.

administering tests. Major exams, such as midterm and final, were considered a must. Tests of all kinds accounted for the majority of grades, usually from more than 50% to two thirds.

In writing these tests, all teachers purposefully included both materials directly from the limited texts covered in class, so that students with lower ability had a chance to do well if they worked hard, and supplementary or additional materials related to what was taught, so that higher order skills such as specific reading strategies rather than memory were also tested. Most teachers also tried to make sure that test content was evenly distributed among all units so that students would study more and not try their luck by focusing on a smaller portion of the materials. The

TABLE 2
Reassignment to the Logical Choice and the Distribution of Actual Choices in the 207 Pairs of Illogically
Written Comments Against Original Choices

		<i>Logical Choice</i>					
		<i>Teacher A</i>	<i>Teacher B</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Actual Choice	Teacher A	—	7	11	21	39	(19%)
	Teacher B	15	—	57	5	77	(37%)
	Both	2	14	—	38	54	(26%)
	Neither	33	1	3	—	37	(18%)
	Total	50 (24%)	22 (11%)	71 (34%)	64 (31%)	207	

TABLE 3
Highlights of Teacher Interview on Rationale and Beliefs about Assessment and Grading

Test

- Formal exams are indispensable and the major determinant of final grades.
- Tests may invite negative feelings from students, especially for students with lower prior proficiency, whose test results always compare unfavorably with their peers.
- Teachers try to make sure that prior ability alone would not be sufficient for students to earn the credits.
- Teachers try to ensure comprehensive and balanced coverage of materials taught to prevent the influence of luck.
- Both textbook and outside supplementary materials are included in tests, with the former taking up the greater percentage.
- Prior proficiency level matters most in eventual test results, but effort is also deliberately credited into a certain number of test items.
- Prevention of cheating on exams and fairness are seriously considered.

Nontest

- Teachers use this part of the grade to encourage their desired learning behaviors such as class participation and online discussion.
- Marks are a great incentive. Learners are acute in responding to credit-awarding work and more indifferent if marks or extra credit is not given.
- Nontest marks relate more to effort and attitude and less to achievement or prior proficiency.
- Although teachers made sure students knew their effort would be credited, most teachers did not reveal clearly how credits were assigned or calculated and students generally did not inquire further.

prevention of cheating on exams was also a built-in routine. Some teachers arranged seats so that students coming from the same department did not sit next to each other. Others discovered that, when the textbooks used had been on the market for a while, some students obtained teacher resources, sample tests, and answer keys. They therefore deliberately tried to find the newest textbooks year after year so that when they used commercially made test banks, students would not have access to the materials. Teachers claimed that English proficiency was still the major determinant of test results. Those who came in with a higher proficiency might do well despite less effort in class, and those with lower prior ability were generally doomed to perform less well in comparison with their peers. But teachers considered it a fact of life they had to accept and tried to balance the situation using the nontest grades.

The nontest part was where teachers intervened to teach and to function as more than an assessor in guiding students toward the desired learning behaviors, compared to the test part in which teachers were mainly a fair evaluator who ensured efforts mattered. Teachers were aware that students consciously reacted to grades, and they took advantage of it in guiding student behaviors. To show the situation more clearly, typical practices discussed in the interviews are represented in the following three episodes, with each pseudonym representing a different teacher.

Tracy—Raising hands for points. And don't forget to tell your names. Tracy encouraged students to raise hands and volunteer participation, such as answering questions and reading texts out loud. At the beginning students were hesitant. But Tracy ensured students that credit may be earned for hands raised and the participation provided. Gradually students were more willing to try. Her students developed a habit of reporting their own student numbers and names right after each time they were called upon for participation, so that Tracy could keep a clear record for her 50 students and award “points.” Tracy said later it became natural for the students to raise hands, and some students seemed to forget about whether she kept the record. When asked, she mentioned that, each time they raised hands, students earned only a nominal 1 point for the entire 40% of participation (i.e., 0.4 points in a total of 100 for the entire course). But students did not seem to be aware of how and how much credit was given. They were happy as long as some extra points were earned. She also mentioned that “giving points” was the key. Without this mechanism, students would not bother to respond to her request for participation.

Chelsea—Look closer! The teacher is noting down your behavior. She said students were very concerned about their grades. “If you tell them some work would get them extra credits, they try all they can to get it. If you do not mention points and grades, they assume it's irrelevant to their grades and would not try.” In class, Chelsea encouraged students to have group discussions and sometimes arranged a class debate. She gave each student a card, and they wrote down the language and expressions they could use from the text covered. Before the discussion started, she collected the cards and, as she listened to student discussion, marked on them to record if students used what they just learned. “I make sure they see me marking on their cards. They see me jotting down notes for their grades, and they would be really serious and hardworking.”

These two teacher stories were typical in how teachers tried to motivate student efforts with the participation part of the grade. However, results opposing the original teacher intention also occurred, as in Lillian's story.

Lillian—Enough is enough! Spending extra effort is a waste of time. As Lillian observed, many students did not care how many points they earned, provided that they passed the threshold and got the credit they need for graduation, unless they wanted to apply for some scholarship or things for which their grade point averages would matter. One semester, she told students she would count only the two higher scores out of three major tests when calculating final grades. By providing such leeway, she hoped students would not have to worry if they did not perform well on any one exam. She meant to be supportive and encouraging. But some students adopted a different interpretation. They calculated their own average score from the first

two tests and found that the results sufficed in having them pass the course. Subsequently, they fooled around with the third test, because they knew they had gotten enough points to earn the credits and the third one, if not satisfactory, wouldn't be calculated.

In these three episodes, Lillian's story might seem contradictory to the first two because students were not motivated under her scheme. However, two fundamental differences should be noted. First, the effort required in Tracy and Chelsea's cases was only instantaneous, but the effort required in Lillian's case of preparing for a major test had to be a deliberate and much heavier one. Second, the level of transparency of scores was not the same. In Tracy's and Chelsea's cases, although the extra credit was not significant, students did not consciously calculate. But in Lillian's case, students were given information of results on two previous tests. Once they knew they could manage to pass or get whatever score they desired with the first two, not spending time on the third one seemed a very rational decision for those whose genuine motivation was no more than meeting school requirements. The purposeful abdication of some of Lillian's students, as compared to some other students' enthusiasm, may have to do with different student goals under similar course requirements. That is, some students worked for as high a score as they could get, for practical purposes or personal achievement. Others were happy with a pass. These observations reveal that grades motivated, but they motivated only to the point where individual students were satisfied with their own levels of attainment.

To summarize, the following conclusions were reached for the first research question of whether and how teachers motivate through tests and grades. First, these teachers made tests a major part of student grades. Although tests were not manifested as motivators, teachers consciously designed their tests with schemes to ensure efforts from different students, including arrangements such as even distribution of content to avoid students trying their luck and inclusion of main and additional materials to cater to lower and higher proficiency students' learning. Considerations of this type are usually related to fairness in larger scale standardized testing. But for the teachers interviewed, such measures were also ways to motivate student efforts with a more immediate effect. Second, beyond tests, these teachers largely credited students for their effort. Embedded within such practice was teachers' consideration to motivate efforts, especially from lower proficiency learners, and an intention to infuse in them confidence and satisfaction which they probably could not obtain from more traditional pencil-and-paper tests.

What Do College Students Think About Some Teachers' "Testing to Motivate Effort" Mentality?

As was discovered previously in Data Collection and Analysis, more participating students chose to agree with Teacher B (that tests demotivate) than any of the other three alternatives (tests motivate, both, or neither) in both the larger pool of 744 and the smaller one of 289 accompanied by additional written comments. However, after identifying illogical pairs, which was found to be 72% of the 289 written responses, and assigning them logical choices based on each individual written comment, the choice of Teacher B was actually, on the contrary, the least endorsed (11%), compared to other possibilities. This apparent contradiction suggests that many students, on the surface, may have felt negatively about being given tests to cause them to make more effort.

However, when asked to respond in more detail, they acknowledged the necessity and effectiveness of tests, despite an apparent subjective resistance. In addition to the distribution of students' stated choices, their more revealing written comments became an important source of information and the next target of analysis. After identification, coding, grouping, and regrouping, themes emerging from the 289 entries included student mentality, criteria of tests that motivate or demotivate, and alternatives to tests.

Those entries revealing student mentality showed an interesting variety. The way in which each individual reacted to the prompt provided a clue to, and seemed to be associated with, how motivated he or she was. Deci and Ryan's continuum of regulatory styles became a valuable tool in helping us understand the differences. However, it is necessary to note that the data itself provided no direct information on student motivation.

On one end of Deci and Ryan's continuum were students with high intrinsic EFL learning motivation. They would expend effort with or without course requirements and were therefore less susceptible to external factors and would continuously devote their time to EFL learning. On the other end were students in a state of amotivation. They took the course and exerted effort in order to survive in the academic environment. Without such course requirements, they would not have engaged in relevant EFL learning activities. An individual from this group may base their decisions on trying to comply with basic requirements. These were usually taking some major tests, along with doing what was expected of them to achieve on the tests. But once the minimum requirement was met, putting forward more effort would be considered irrelevant to their personal goals and a waste of time. The following comment from one student showed what he thought regarding the variety of mentalities.

Good Students: Study even if there is no test.

Mediocre Students: Study when there is a test, but not necessarily on ordinary days.

Bad Students: Do not necessarily study even if there is a test. (06-16-N/A)

Along the continuum, of course, are students with various degrees of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Some were more externally regulated, whereas others identified more with the EFL learning goals embedded in course requirements. Because they were not at either of the two ends where students either wanted to learn EFL willingly or did not care to do more than just pass the course, there was more room to maneuver when it came to deciding whether to do what EFL instructors required of them. Calculation, either conscious and careful or subconscious and rough, of costs and benefits was under way. Various external and internal factors came into play and interacted with one another. External factors consisted of other things competing for their time, such as other courses and requirements, extracurricular activities, part-time work, social, and family life. The following excerpt showed how a student weighed things on his priority list, among which tests were always ranked at the top. Such "test as a priority" time allocation perspective was quite prevalent.

That was exactly me. When there is no test in this English course, I spend my time on other courses that I will be tested on. As long as there is a test, I make sure I study for it. When there is no test for any subject, I would do other things rather than studying. (03-15-2)

Internal factors included student estimation of the effort and time involved compared to the credit and satisfaction expected. Putting traces of students' cost-benefit analysis together helped us understand the criteria for tests to motivate effort, or at least intention to put forth effort. Many

students said that too many tests would give them too much pressure and turn them off, and a vicious cycle may develop therein. The most frequently used words here to describe what they desired were *shi-dang* and *shi-liang*, meaning appropriate, suitable, in the right quantity and intensity. According to students, tests should include some important criteria to be effective. For example, tests should be announced early enough that they are not a surprise and students have time to prepare. Unannounced quizzes, unless originally designed into the course, seem to snare students in traps. Also, material covered and the difficulty level should be such that putting forth effort will make a difference in the results. Opinions on frequency of tests were more varied. Some considered two major exams in one semester appropriate because English was not their major subject and there were many other courses and activities competing for their time. Others contended that having more tests was better since each smaller test might be more manageable and a regular study habit could be developed; therefore, the risk of doing poorly on one major exam was largely eliminated. If tests fail to possess these desired qualities, they may discourage and frustrate students. If this were the case, students indicated that it would be better not to have tests at all and leave them alone to take care of their studies. The following two quotes showed opinions of this kind.

I believe tests can indeed make us study hard. But if there are too many tests, or they are too difficult, it may destroy students' confidence. But if you give very few tests so that each test covers lots of material, or if the tests are so easy that they don't really show our ability, it's not good either. So teachers should exercise discretion in this respect for a balance. But, giving tests certainly works. (03-32-4)

Indeed, if there is no test, I lack the momentum to study. But if the frequency of tests is too high and preparing for this subject would take too much of my time, then I would consider shifting my study time to other courses. (10-13-2)

These findings pretty much echoed Van Etten et al.'s (1997), that "examinations per se motivate studying" (p. 200) and that student effort would be at an optimal level when test criteria were ideal and students believed that effort made a difference.

For many students, they had no problem putting EFL learning at the top of their priority lists, and their cost-benefit analyses usually favored EFL study effort. But there was a gap between intention and execution. These students procrastinated in their EFL learning despite good intentions because they lacked self-regulatory strategies and were easily distracted. For them, tests often served as good external forces to push them to work and were not a burden they tried to avoid. It may even be encouraging and motivating if they had a chance to succeed on the tests. The following excerpt showed how a student spent time differently on courses with and without the threat of tests. His ambivalence, however, was apparent in his final remark.

My teacher did not give weekly quizzes during the first half of the semester. At that time, I only looked at my textbook once a week in class. After she started to give weekly quizzes, the frequency of using my textbook increased dramatically. But having tests all the time seems like going back to high school days when we were given tests everyday from dawn to dusk. (10-18-2)

Finally, the different effects of classroom tests compared to other forms of requirements in motivating student efforts were also an issue in student responses. The students surveyed were quite used to tests as the major form of evaluation creating a major and urgent drive for them to put forth effort. They reacted to tests readily and expected transparent feedback in numerical scores comparable with those of their peers. But there were also voices expressing a desire to

be freed from “a high-school test-oriented education,” as shown in the later part of the previous quote (10-18-2). Many students voluntarily provided their opinions on alternatives to tests. The most frequently used word here was *interests*. As with *shi-dang* for tests, students had different interpretations for *interests*. More concrete elements regarding interests included course content, multiple test methods, discussions and reports, multimedia materials, intercultural exposure, authentic application of things learned, an environment in which language use becomes natural, a positive learning atmosphere in the group, and, above all, teacher enthusiasm. One student said because he did not have many tests and required assignments, he was able to freely spend more time on things of interest to him, such as reading English magazines and listening to English songs. He thus had more choices and autonomy in deciding what he liked to learn. Here, intrinsic motivation seemed to come back to the center stage. To ignite intrinsic motivation in those somewhat internally and somewhat externally regulated students, coercive requirements sometimes did not work. Instead, catering to genuine learning motivation may be the ultimate solution by such means as teacher enthusiasm, and giving time and space for autonomy and learners’ self-determination.

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This study looked at whether and how tests and grades motivated students in a college EFL setting. The issue stood at the interface between CA and EFL learning motivation. Because CA studies have mostly been regarded as atheoretical, and requirement motivation has been identified but relatively less researched, this study was not founded on a well-defined theoretical framework. However, learning and motivation theories, as previously indicated by Brookhart (2004), did seem to apply in what was observed.

For the first research question on whether and how teachers motivate student efforts by tests and grades, the answer was a positive one. Considerations in preparing tests, also congruent with many testing fundamentals, had a purpose of ensuring student efforts within the confines of practical classroom conditions. Besides, nontest grades had a strong effort-inducement orientation, especially for less proficient learners. For the second research question on the student part, the answer was less forthcoming. About one third of the participants chose the item that says tests demotivate, but their written responses told a different story. Contradictions between some students’ initial responses and later detailed commentary revealed considerable student ambivalence. The researcher, despite the lack of separate and direct support from the data on student motivation, chose to interpret learner responses by placing them on Deci and Ryan’s (1985) continuum of regulatory styles ranging from amotivated to fully intrinsically motivated. This conception helps us understand how learners reacted to tests and other requirements differently. Tests could be seen as either a motivator or a demotivator, depending on learners’ external and internal factors, learner cost–benefit analysis, and their need for a driving force.

The findings, however, have to be construed with the specific Chinese test-oriented educational milieu in mind and are not to be generalized to student populations with very different learning backgrounds, as for example in many Western countries. In addition, the limitations inherent in this study suggest that future studies would benefit from two additional types of data. First, one could incorporate in-depth student interviews or observations to help us understand student opinions and reactions more fully. Second, a useful distinction might be made in the analysis

of student opinions, as to whether they felt they were primarily motivated by tests, on one hand, or by nontest grades. This was, in fact, addressed in the teacher interviews in the current study but not in the student survey.

There are both theoretical and pedagogical implications. First, although the negative consequence of focusing on external forces, evidenced in many previous studies on external regulation and extrinsic motivation (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1985; Dörnyei, 2001b; Remedios et al., 2005), has long kept researchers from further exploring the potential of scores and requirements, this study attempted to understand the real situations in a university EFL context. It is hoped that these results may help us better understand the nature of requirement motivation and how it functions. Furthermore, in a time when assessments are expected to serve the purpose of learning, future research effort could develop from the findings here to continue in theorizing and understanding CA more systematically.

In addition, this study also brought us some pedagogical implications. As one participating student said, tests and grades are like a two-edged sword. An ancient Chinese proverb depicts what grades and tests may do for student learning even more vividly—"Water can overturn a raft as well as float it." A test or a required assignment, if not carefully designed, can easily demotivate and help in shaping learners' helplessness beliefs, even though the original intention was perfectly justifiable. Teachers should be alert to these possible consequences so the tests and assignments they design may actually motivate effort.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was made possible by Grant No. 98-2410-H-004-133-MY2 from the National Science Council of Taiwan.

REFERENCES

- Black, P., Harrison, C., Lee, C., Marshall, B., & Wiliam, D. (2004, September). Working inside the black box: Assessment for learning in the classroom. *Phi Delta Kappan*, pp. 9–21.
- Black, P., & Wiliam, D. (2009). Developing the theory of formative assessment. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability*, 21, 5–31.
- Broekkamp, H., & Van Hout-Wolters, B. H. A. M. (2007). Students' adaptation of study strategies when preparing for classroom tests. *Educational Psychology Review*, 19, 401–428.
- Brookhart, S. M. (1991). Grading practices and validity. *Educational Measurement: Issues and Practice*, 10, 35–36.
- Brookhart, S. M. (1994). Teachers' grading: Practice and theory. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 7, 279–301.
- Brookhart, S. M. (1997). A theoretical framework for the role of classroom assessment in motivating student effort and achievement. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 10, 161–180.
- Brookhart, S. M. (2004). Classroom assessment: Tensions and interactions in theory and practice. *Teachers College Record*, 106, 429–458.
- Brookhart, S. M., & DeVoge, J. G. (1999). Testing a theory about the role of classroom assessment in student motivation and achievement. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 12, 409–425.
- Chen, J. F., Warden, C. A., & Chang, H.-T. (2005). Motivators that do not motivate: The case of Chinese EFL learners and the influence of culture on motivation. *TESOL Quarterly*, 39, 609–633.
- Cheng, H.-F., & Dörnyei, Z. (2007). The use of motivational strategies in language instruction: The case of EFL teaching in Taiwan. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 1, 153–174.
- Choi, I.-C. (2008). The impact of EFL testing on EFL education in Korea. *Language Testing*, 25, 39–62.

- Covington, M. (1999). Caring about learning: The nature and nurturing of subject-matter appreciation. *Educational Psychologist*, 34, 127–136.
- Crooks, T. J. (1988). The impact of classroom evaluation practices on students. *Review of Educational Research*, 58, 438–481.
- Cross, L. H., & Frary, R. B. (1999). Hodgepodge grading: Endorsed by students and teachers alike. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 12, 53–72.
- Csizer, K., & Dörnyei, Z. (2005). The internal structure of language learning motivation and its relationship with language choice and learning effort. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89, 19–36.
- Davison, C. (2007). Views from the chalkface: English language school-based assessment in Hong Kong. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 4, 37–68.
- Davison, C., & Leung, C. (2009). Current issues in English language teacher-based assessment. *TESOL Quarterly*, 43, 393–415.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York, NY: Plenum.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001a). *Motivational strategies in the language classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001b). *Teaching and researching motivation*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education Limited.
- Ely, C. M. (1986). Language learning motivation: A descriptive and causal analysis. *The Modern Language Journal*, 70, 28–34.
- Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Gorham, J., & Christophel, D. M. (1992). Students' perceptions of teacher behaviors as motivating and demotivating factors in college classes. *Communication Quarterly*, 40, 239–252.
- Guilloteux, M. J., & Dörnyei, Z. (2008). Motivating language learners: A classroom-oriented investigation of the effects of motivational strategies on student motivation. *TESOL Quarterly*, 42, 55–77.
- Harlen, W., & Crick, R. D. (2003). Testing and motivation for learning. *Assessment in Education*, 10, 169–207.
- Kouyoumdjian, H. (2004). Influence of unannounced quizzes and cumulative exam on attendance and study behavior. *Teaching of Psychology*, 31, 110–111.
- Lamb, M. (2007). The impact of school on EFL learning motivation: An Indonesian case study. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41, 757–780.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Poehner, M. E. (2004). Dynamic assessment: Bringing the past into the future. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 1, 49–74.
- Leung, C. (2004). Developing formative teacher assessment: Knowledge, practice, and change. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 1, 19–41.
- McMillan, J. H., Myran, S., & Workman, D. (2002). Elementary teachers' classroom assessment and grading practices. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 95, 203–213.
- Miller, C. M. L., & Parlett, M. (1974). *Up to the mark: A study of the examination game*. London, UK: Society for Research into High Education.
- Natriello, G. (1987). The impact of evaluation processes on students. *Educational Psychologist*, 22, 155–175.
- Olina, Z., & Sullivan, H. (2002). Effects of classroom evaluation strategies on student achievement and attitudes. *Educational Technology, Research and Development*, 50, 61–75.
- Poehner, M. E. (2007). Beyond the test: L2 dynamic assessment and the transcendence of mediated learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 323–340.
- Price, J., & Gascoigne, C. (2006). Current perceptions and beliefs among incoming college students towards foreign language study and language requirements. *Foreign Language Annals*, 39, 383–394.
- Remedios, R., Ritchie, K., & Lieberman, D. A. (2005). I used to like it but now I don't: The effect of the transfer test in Northern Ireland on pupils' intrinsic motivation. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 75, 435–452.
- Ruscio, J. (2001). Administering quizzes at random to increase students' reading. *Teaching of Psychology*, 28, 204–206.
- Sheridan, C. (2009, April 11). *Scores and comments: Expanding the feedback arsenal*. Paper presented at The Third College English Conference, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan.
- Shih, C.-M. (2008). The General English Proficiency Test. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 5, 63–76.
- Stiggins, R. J. (1999). Assessment, student confidence, and school success. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 81, 191–198.
- Van Etten, S., Freebern, G., & Pressley, M. (1997). College students' beliefs about exam preparation. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 22, 192–212.

- Warden, C. A., & Lin, H. J. (2000). Existence of integrative motivation in an Asian EFL setting. *Foreign Language Annals*, 33, 535–547.
- Zhang, Z., & Burry-Stock, J. A. (2003). Classroom assessment practices and teachers' self-perceived assessment skills. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 16, 323–342.

APPENDIX A

Teacher Interview Protocol

1. Please describe your assessment and grading practice, including what is assessed, how it is assessed, and why you have decided to assess students this way.
2. What is your typical test like? What do you consider when you prepare major tests and quizzes? Why?
3. Other than tests, what do you include in the grades you assign students? Why?
4. Please describe your observation of student study behavior and effort in response to your grading system.

APPENDIX B

Student Survey

Teacher A: Nowadays, if you don't give tests, students won't study.

Teacher B: But I am afraid that students may dislike English if I give tests often.

For the above dialogue, which teacher do you agree with? Why?

Teacher A ☐

Teacher B ☐

Both ☐

Neither ☐

Please provide your comments in writing:
